

## *"Investigating" the United Nations*

Secretary Marshall has appointed a three-man committee to go into charges that the United Nations is, in effect, a breach in the domestic wall through which pour hundreds of aliens whose presence is inconsistent with our national security. The inquiry was provoked by the statements of an assistant chief of the State Department's visa division, to the effect that perhaps several hundred persons of this character had come into this country for meetings of the United Nations and related organizations. The three members of Secretary Marshall's committee, all solid citizens, are expected to clear away any cobwebs of suspicion in the minds of a public already aroused by the congressional spy hearings. When the Headquarters Agreement and the Privileges and Immunities Act were drafted, it was thought that sufficient provision was made for protecting the legitimate interests of the United States as the host of the United Nation. Marshall himself has said his own inquiries do not support the accusations made by the visa official, but his naming of the committee constitutes in effect a re-investigation as to whether these laws and, perhaps more important, their administration, are adequate to meet the situation. Perhaps the results of the inquiry—which incidentally is not an "investigation" of the United Nations, despite what even the officials at Lake Success appear to believe—will suggest the need for certain revisions in the interest of our national security. At the same time, we can hardly go to the extent of requiring that no Soviet or other Communists should be in the employ of the United Nations. "It is quite evident," says Secretary Marshall, "that you cannot have the United Nations gathering in this country if you choose to bar out the people of the various nations if they choose to be represented." It is possible to protect our security amply without derogating from our responsibilities as the host government of an international organization. The airing of this question by the three-man committee will undoubtedly be salutary.

## *Economic report*

The report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers for the first half of 1948, which Mr. Truman submitted to Congress on July 30, can be summed up in this way: the "prosperity" of the past year has been generally maintained, but here and there soft spots have appeared which, unless they are dealt with now, presage serious trouble for the future. Consumer income for the first six months of the year ran at an annual rate of \$208 billion, an increase of \$13 billion over 1947; business profits were ahead of the record-breaking level of last year; the gross national product reached a new high of \$246.5 billion, which, however, represented higher price levels rather than increased production. In June the number

of persons employed reached 61,300,000, which is also a new record. On the other hand, the incomes of half the spending units in the country fell behind steadily rising living costs. The squeeze on low-income groups was so severe that one-fourth of all family units spent more than they earned. While bountiful wheat and corn crops and full pipelines in some types of consumer goods promise a drop in the cost of living, other factors were operating even more strongly to drive prices higher still. To consumer and industry demands for goods and services has been added an expanding government demand for defense and foreign-aid programs; wage and price increases in the basic industries foreshadow higher prices in many cost-of-living items; credit expansion, "partly a cause and partly a result of inflation," continues; the reduction in income taxes in the face of increased government spending means the end of anti-inflationary surpluses. According to President Truman, all this adds up to a bust unless measures are taken now to moderate the boom.

## *New troubles in Indonesia*

Charges and counter-charges by the Republic of Indonesia and the Dutch before the UN Security Council have again brought the East Indies issue to the fore. Angry Indonesians broke off long-drawn-out talks with the Dutch Government which were being conducted under the auspices of the UN Committee of Good Offices. Three major problems are involved: 1) enforcement of the truce; 2) improvement of economic conditions; 3) working together toward the final goal—a United States of Indonesia. According to the Indonesians, the Netherlands Government, by a tightly imposed economic blockade, has effected an economic strangulation of the country. Most populated areas, such as Java and Sumatra, the charge goes on, still suffer from lack of imported goods—transportation supplies, machinery, textiles, paper and some medical items. These charges were supported by the UN Committee of Good Offices, which reported that economic recovery has been delayed by politics. The Dutch reject the charge of blockade, and accuse Republican authorities of tolerating black-market operations in such imported products as arms, ammunition and opium. The Security Council, however, places much responsibility for the ill health of Indonesia upon the Dutch. While this dispute drags on, another force, that of communism, is in full advance in Indonesia. Archbishop de Jonghe d'Ardoye, Apostolic Delegate to the Indonesian Archipelago, while in Rome, presented a somber picture of communist penetration. Communism, he said, is making progress and is well financed. Communist agitators, directed by the Soviets, find the soil prepared by the sufferings of war and occupation. Above all, "the presence of great wealth side by side with great poverty, starvation wages and insecurity," are the great-

est allurements for communism. At a time when world peace hangs in the balance, continuation of this localized conflict is most regrettable. The only Power which stands to benefit is the enemy of Western European ideas and of colonial freedom. Dutch conservative elements, who see a threat to the home economy in freeing a major colony, and Indonesian leaders, who apparently underestimate the danger of communism in Southeast Asia, must move in the direction of compromise.

### Asia undergoes new changes

Behind clouds of political smoke arising in various quarters, the great continent of Asia is experiencing a ferment of rapid change and spectacular advance. The most manifest force that pushes Asia forward is a growing nationalism. New nations have arisen in Korea, the Philippines, Burma, India and Ceylon; while China, Indonesia and Indo-China strive to achieve similar national entity. In all Asia, Japan excepted, militarism had been traditionally belittled. Now, spurred by nascent nationalisms and the threat of communism, national armies are rapidly being organized and trained. In the social and economic sphere there is progress of a different type. While agriculture remains the main occupation, the impact of industrialization is being felt in most Asiatic countries. Consequently, a noticeable trend toward urbanization has developed. The shift is everywhere away from overcrowded farmlands into new factory towns; in the last generation the urban population of North Asia has doubled. With steady industrial progress, further growth may be expected, at least for the time being; and population problems are likely to increase in the decade ahead. Literacy, which in Asia has been a luxury of the privileged classes—as in Europe during the Middle Ages—has made incontestable strides. Millions of Asiatic children and adults are learning to read and write. Some countries, such as Korea and Siam, with their own phonetic alphabets, rapidly come abreast of western nations. Amidst these changes, the Orient is unlikely to accept passively the cultural advances of the Occident. With a centuries-old and solid culture of its own, Asia will not be swept off its feet by influences coming at this late date from the West. Today the era of European colonialism is definitely dead. Yet Asia is now more than ever exposed to the dangers of communism, strategically fostered by Soviet Russia. To avert this peril, the Asians, while following the path of their own national development, must cooperate with the West in order to survive and be free.

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Editor-in-Chief: JOHN LAFARGE  
Managing Editor: CHARLES KEENAN  
Literary Editor: HAROLD C. GARDINER  
Associate Editors: BENJAMIN L. MASSE, WILLIAM J. GIBBONS, EDWARD DUFF, ROBERT C. HARTNETT, EDWARD A. CONWAY  
Contributing Editors: WILFRID PARSONS, ROBERT A. GRAHAM, ALLAN P. FARRELL  
Editorial Office: 329 W. 108TH STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

Business Office: 70 EAST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
Business Manager and Treasurer: JOSEPH CARROLL  
Promotion and Circulation: EDWARD F. CLARK

### Cardinal to workers

In his address on August 2 at the opening of the eighty-fifth convention of the N. Y. State Federation of Labor, Cardinal Spellman recalled the pact he had made with the Building Trades in the spring of 1947 and the circumstances which surrounded it. At the time builders were not eager to start new construction, with the result that many carpenters and plasterers and plumbers were out of jobs. Going against the tide, and against expert advice, the Cardinal promised to stimulate activity by spending \$25 million on new construction for the Archdiocese of New York. For their part, the AFL Building Trades pledged "not to interrupt the work by stoppages due to disputes between unions or between union and employer; to give a day's work for a day's pay; and to supply sufficient mechanics to carry forward the work." Announcing the completion by September 12 of Archbishop Stepinac High School, in record-breaking construction time, the Cardinal told the delegates that he was "happy and proud to testify to labor's complete fulfillment of its pledges." Unlike communist boss William Z. Foster, who once said that "the aims of the trade unions cannot be achieved by a harmonious agreement between labor and capital," Cardinal Spellman saw in the "harmonious agreement" which characterized the relations of all those engaged on the Archdiocesan construction program the answer to the problem of industrial relations.

### Wages in the building trades

A widespread impression exists that the high cost of housing is largely due to inflated wages in the construction industry. This popular belief received little support last spring from an exhaustive report on housing submitted to Congress by a joint Senate-House committee. It receives no more support from the latest quarterly study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. According to the BLS release, hourly wage rates of union workers in the building trades have increased 62 per cent over 1939, which is 8 per cent less than the increase in living costs. During this same period, the cost of building materials advanced 116 per cent. As of July 1, the average hourly wage rate of all unionized construction workers was \$2.10, with New York City bricklayers leading the parade with an hourly rate of \$3.20. The following table gives the percentage increase over 1947 and the present average hourly rate:

	Per-cent increase	Hourly rate
Bricklayers .....	12.5	\$2.67
Carpenters .....	9.3	\$2.19
Electricians .....	8.9	\$2.30
Painters .....	8.4	\$2.07
Plasterers .....	7.8	\$2.45
Plumbers .....	10.9	\$2.44
Laborers .....	11.3	\$1.37

Since there appears to be some truth to reports that certain employers in tight labor markets are paying more than the going rate, it is possible that these figures do

not give an exact picture of the situation. They must be interpreted also, to arrive at an honest estimate of labor costs, in terms of productivity per man hour. But even after these allowances are made there is little justification for the charge that wages are the chief reason for the cruel cost of new housing today.

### **No time to abandon CARE**

Perhaps our editorial, "Charity is still imperative" (July 24, p. 363), was not explicit in calling attention to the fact that the problem of relief to individuals abroad is not solved by the operations of the Marshall Plan. At any rate, the impression that the need for private relief is past still lingers in the minds of too many Americans. Officials of CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe) announced on July 29 that volunteer shipments of food and clothing overseas have fallen off from 300,000 to 150,000 packages a month since the European Recovery Program was adopted by Congress. This means that hundreds of thousands (for many a CARE package helps feed a whole family) are now failing to get just the supplementary foodstuffs needed to enable them to stretch their inadequate rations into the minimum needed for good health. The hump is not yet passed and, even if it were in Europe, interest in CARE is still called for from other quarters. Japan, at the request of General MacArthur, can now receive CARE packages; 10,000 packages are already in Japan, waiting for distribution for ten dollars each. Fifteen countries are now served by CARE; the Philippines will soon be included. There is a need still—care for it.

### **Now there are ten**

Oldest English colony in the New World, Newfoundland in the last week of July voted 77,814 to 71,258 to become the tenth Province of the Dominion of Canada. This new status brings completion to a process without parallel in the long evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Prior to the First World War, Newfoundland was a British colony. As a partial reward for her military support—she fielded 6,500 troops for Great Britain—full Dominion status was granted at the close of the war. Saddled with a \$90 million debt as a result of her participation in the European struggle, her modest economy collapsed with the added burdens brought on by the great depression of 1929. In 1933 a commission was appointed to investigate Newfoundland's financial prospects, and recommended a return to the Empire as a dependent colony. The recommendation was accepted and, since 1934, Newfoundland has been under the supervision of a governor and six commissioners appointed by the United Kingdom. Accepted as a temporary arrangement, the new government was not popular, and only the advent of the Second World War prevented a more immediate readjustment. Finally, in 1946, a popular convention recommended either a return to autonomy or union with Canada. Last week's plebiscite chose union. And Newfoundland is not likely to enter the Dominion as a poor relation. In 1927, the British Privy Council ended a long-standing dispute between Newfoundland and the

Province of Quebec concerning sovereignty over Labrador by awarding that peninsula to Newfoundland. Ironically, the new proprietor attempted to sell it to Quebec during the depression for thirty million dollars. Fortunately for Newfoundland, Quebec considered the price exorbitant, for, today, mining experts believe that Labrador's Grand River area is structurally similar to Lake Superior's fantastically rich Mesabi range, and may well develop into the richest ore-strike of the century. Aside from her strong economic links with Canada, Newfoundland and its dependency, Labrador, have a strategic affinity as well. Commanding both the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the northern air-lanes to Europe, they fall naturally within the Canadian defense orbit and the new, single administration will economically benefit both.

### **Labor support for ERP**

At the second meeting of the International Trade Union Conference on the European Recovery Program, held in London July 29-30, delegates from sixteen nations voted to establish a permanent office in Paris. At the same time they designated Léon Jouhaux, of France, chairman of a central committee which will "give guidance to national centers in the mobilization and coordination of their activities" on behalf of the Marshall Plan. In this important task M. Jouhaux, who is also head of the anti-communist Force Ouvrière, will be assisted by Vincent Tewson of England and Evert Koppers of the Netherlands. For the present the British Trades Union Congress, while giving full support to the new council, intends to remain in the World Federation of Trade Unions, and in this position is supported by the CIO. On the other hand, AFL delegates to the London meeting made no secret of their belief that cooperation between American labor and the non-communist unions of Western Europe in favor of ERP would speed the dissolution of WFTU. In this connection, it will be interesting to see whether the new non-communist labor federation in process of being born in Italy will try to affiliate with the WFTU or devote its energies solely to the International Trade Union Conference on the European Recovery Program. For our part, we wonder how much longer non-communist labor leaders can continue to fight the communist unions of Europe over ERP and still maintain fraternal bonds with them in WFTU.

### **On new DP legislation**

Simultaneously with President Truman's call for more extensive assistance to displaced persons seeking haven in this country, two new bills were introduced in Congress. The first, sponsored by Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, amends the DP law by changing the eligibility date, and extending aid to refugees who came to Western Europe after December 22, 1945. Opponents to the present DP law have objected to the early cut-off date, charging that it excludes about 90 per cent of the 200,000 Jews in DP camps, most of whom, they say, fled persecution in Poland during 1946. The other amendment, sponsored by Senators J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island and Carl A. Hatch of New Mexico, would



also change the eligibility date. In addition, this latter amendment would increase the number of refugees admitted and would strike out the so-called restrictive clauses of the present law—requirement of previously guaranteed housing and jobs; 40-per-cent preference for persons from “annexed” areas; preferences for those with agricultural background. We should, indeed, like to see present legislation amended so as to give equal opportunity to all bona fide refugees seeking sanctuary in the United States. This would happen were the eligibility date changed from December 22, 1945 to April 21, 1947. Between those dates, thousands of refugees, other than those against whom the present law is supposedly discriminatory, fled countries behind the Iron Curtain. Furthermore, we should like to see a distribution of immigration opportunities proportionate to the “groups and elements” among the DPs rather than, according to criteria laid down in the Wiley-Revercomb legislation. Nevertheless, the existing legislation, though containing some discriminatory features, is not to be considered basically “anti-Catholic,” as some of its critics would have us think. Prominent Catholic leaders have rightly rejected the charges. What we want is fairness and liberality to all refugees who can be shown to be non-subversive and in genuine need. Unnecessary injection of religion and racial issues serves no good purpose.

### **Testament and memorial**

A week after the death of Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, for thirteen years Latvian minister in Washington, the last of his long series of political pamphlets reached the United States from its publishers in Heidelberg. “The Problem of the Baltic in Historical Perspective” was written “in memory of the injustices done to the Baltic nations.” To Americans of Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian descent “The Problem of the Baltic” must appear as both testament and memorial, a poignant echo of a voice whose power and courage they are beginning to appreciate more fully, now that it is stilled forever. It is an eloquent reminder of a man who was great not only as a diplomat, but as a pamphleteer. Master of six languages, the tireless ex-journalist flooded the Western world with booklets pleading the cause of the hapless Baltic nations. As by a testament, Dr. Bilmanis leaves those who mourn him the legacy of his courageous and persistent opposition to tyranny and his confidence in a future of freedom. He reminds historians that “during the past 4,000 years many mighty nations have perished, but the Balts have remained.” The Baltic states will surely rejoin the family of free nations if the successors of Dr. Bilmanis act in concert to carry out his crusade. It is significant that his last pamphlet dealt not with Latvia alone but with all three Baltic nations. Its last lines are no less significant for us whose aid they sorely need: “It is clear, therefore, that there can be no free Europe without a free Baltic.”

### **Palestine turmoil**

King Abdullah's conciliatory statement of August 4 holds out hope of possible compromise between the Arabs

and Israeli regarding Palestine. The Trans-Jordan ruler carefully chose his words as he let it be known that his nation does not “exclude any possible compromise that secures justice and prevents unnecessary bloodshed.” Previously the Arabs had turned down, without discussion, Count Bernadotte's proposals for a new settlement which would have accepted the existence of Israel and given the other parts of Palestine to Trans-Jordan. The immediate need for some sort of settlement is evident from the outbreak of fighting in the Negeb, the continued clashes in Jerusalem, and especially the critical plight of Arab refugees from Israeli-held territory. There are some 300,000 or more of these displaced Arabs who must be cared for and fed. Resettlement, on the basis of large-scale population exchange, has been proposed as a solution. Much more humane, and in line with stated principles of the Jewish State, would be to allow them to resume residence in their former homes. Whether they will do that voluntarily is a question not yet answered. Meanwhile, in Egypt, Arab violence against Jewish persons and also against some British and Americans emphasizes the need for a more pacific attitude within the Arab world. Other Arab States would be giving assurance of eventual settlement were they to follow the conciliatory example of King Abdullah, rather than the fire-breathing statements of the Arab Higher Committee on Palestine, which is not a member of the Arab League and has the exiled Grand Mufti of Jerusalem as its inspiration. Zionist extremists, too, should show more respect for Count Bernadotte and desist from creating an insoluble impasse. Peace in the Middle East is essential, unless Russia is to become the sole beneficiary of the present conflict.

### **Politeia**

Back in 1885 Cardinal Gaspard Mermillod founded at Fribourg in Switzerland the Union Catholique d'Etudes Sociales et Economiques. Known later as the Union of Fribourg, this group did pioneer work in applying Christian principles to contemporary social and economic problems, laying the groundwork for the Papal encyclicals, as is commonly acknowledged. Just recently a new group has been organized at the University of Fribourg which is modestly trying to imbue itself with the tradition of the Union. This is the Institut International des Sciences Sociales et Politiques, directed by Prof. Eugene Bongras and Prof. Arthur Utz. The first number of their journal, a five-language quarterly, has recently made its appearance under the name *Politeia* (18 Swiss francs per volume, including supplements). As the preface to this number says: “Too long have Christian truths remained far from the realm of politics in the speculative sense of the word, that is, in the sense of the science of action.” It is the aim of the new Institute and its laboratory, the new journal, to try to promote a full and clear application of Christian principles in public life. Catholics in the United States, whose country has begun to play so important a role in world affairs, should be interested in the invitation extended by the editors of *Politeia* for the cooperation of men of good will.



## Washington Front

Such unglamorous stuff as price controls and housing proved no match headline-wise for disclosures of the wartime derring-do of communist spies which brought Washington out of early August doldrums with a jolt. The purpose for which Harry Truman called Congress back to Washington was almost forgotten in the excitement of testimony concerning Moscow-serving espionage here.

Mere charges are scarcely proof, but initial stories of the filching of information on war output and other matters got some corroboration subsequently from Louis Budenz, ex-Communist who was re-converted to Catholicism. The Senate Committee headed by Senator Homer Ferguson appeared to be doing a careful fact-sifting job in this field; the House Un-American Activities Committee was permitting broadside accusations that carried the danger of damaging possibly innocent government officials.

There seemed enough substance to the whole matter, though, to give the Republicans new custom-tailored election-campaign material. Politically it had the virtue of taking attention away from the difficulties in which Congress was involved in seeking a way out on important issues that had been tossed into its lap by Mr. Truman.

The truth was that with or without the communist spy-ringing thriller, the President's program was unques-

tionably headed for trouble. In his special message Mr. Truman scattered his shot over a dozen issues rather than concentrating on perhaps three or four on which Congress could reasonably have been expected to act. Some of his proposals could not possibly be put in the emergency category by any rule of logic. Such tactics weakened his case.

In its advocacy of controls, the Administration seemed divided and unsure of itself. Even fairly friendly observers said that ex-OPA Administrator Paul Porter failed to make a convincing case when he appeared before the House Banking and Currency Committee to try to blueprint in detail how inflation should be stopped. Treasury Secretary John Snyder favored parts of Mr. Truman's program, was cold on other parts of it. The GOP leadership didn't want to do much about controls in any case, and an indifferently planned Administration effort to get them aided this position. The best guess was that action would not go far beyond new consumer credit restrictions and one or two other fairly mild approaches, but nothing like the major controls which Mr. Truman has proposed.

Also important this week: there was evidence of a division of authority between the military and the State Department in directing our course in the critical Berlin area. At least one important long-range policy decision was made on the basis of incomplete facts, then was changed two days later when the full facts turned up. From Berlin, Gen. Lucius Clay denied he dictated policy.

CHARLES LUCEY

## Underscorings

The consecration, September 5, of the new St. John's Cathedral in Cleveland, Ohio, by Cardinal Mooney, Archbishop Cicognani, the Apostolic Delegate, and four other bishops will close the centenary celebrations of the diocese of Cleveland. The first priests known to have been in the territory now known as Ohio were two Jesuit missionaries, Fathers Potier and Bonnecamp, who came from Quebec to northern Ohio in 1749. They were joined in 1751 by a third Jesuit, Father de la Richardie from Detroit, who in the same year built the first Catholic chapel in Ohio.

► In 1819 the See of Bardstown was created, embracing Ohio, Michigan and Kentucky. The diocese of Cincinnati was erected in 1822 with a Dominican, Edward Fenwick, as its first bishop. This diocese comprised the whole of Ohio. The diocese of Cleveland was separated from Cincinnati in 1847, taking in thirty-three counties in northern Ohio. Its first bishop was Louis Amadeus Rappe.

► Two further subdivisions took place in Cleveland territory. Nineteen of its western counties became the diocese of Toledo in 1910, and six of the eastern counties were combined to form the diocese of Youngstown in 1943.

► The original Cleveland diocese of a hundred years ago is therefore three dioceses at present, where over 1,200 priests administer 450 parishes. In the same territory, 343 Catholic grade and high schools take care of 105,000 pupils. The Catholic population of the district is more than 800,000.

► The Federal Communications Commission has been asked to clarify its stand on atheist broadcasts in a letter sent to it August 4 by Edward J. Heffron, president of the Religious Radio Association, an organization consisting of members of the three major religious groups. Mr. Heffron pointed out that the FCC's 1946 decision in the Scott case made it seem probable that the broadcasting of "church services, prayers, Bible readings and other kinds of religious programs" could be construed as an indirect attack on atheism; and that atheists therefore would have the right to demand equal time to reply. The danger is that station managers, to avoid possible controversy, might simply cease to schedule religious programs. "This," said Mr. Heffron, "would be a poor service of the public interest, convenience or necessity."

► Two American missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word have been appointed bishops in their mission territory of New Guinea. Bishop-elect Stephen Appelhans, a native of Spearville, Kansas, becomes the second Vicar Apostolic of East New Guinea. Bishop-elect Leo Arkfeld, ordained only five years ago, will be Vicar Apostolic of Central New Guinea.

C. K.

# Editorials

## *Defense treaty with Western Europe*

Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, has returned from a tour of Europe convinced that nothing short of an immediate military alliance between the United States and the nations of Western Europe will discourage Soviet Russia from attempting an early invasion of the West. That conviction impelled Mr. Armstrong to rush into the *New York Times Magazine* for August 1 a perfectly timed and eloquently voiced appeal to the current special session of Congress, for "a formal declaration of policy in the shape of a treaty approved by the Senate." This is a curious request for a man of Mr. Armstrong's long experience in foreign affairs to make under the prevailing circumstances.

Since it takes at least two parties to negotiate a treaty, and since the Western Powers have not requested one, it would appear that Mr. Armstrong is asking, in effect, that our Government initiate the negotiations at once, and that at least the Senate remain in session until their completion. Mr. Armstrong should know that a similar proposal made by Harold E. Stassen during his campaign received short shrift from our policy-makers, who are utterly opposed to our taking such initiative, lest we give grounds for the accusation that we are following the Soviet tactic of enforced mutual-defense pacts.

More curious still is the fact that Mr. Armstrong, after building a cogent case for a mutual-defense treaty (under Article 51 of the Charter, of course) between the United States and the nations of Western Europe, suddenly, without warning, inexplicably and quite disconcertingly, turns away from the obvious conclusion which follows from his premises—a treaty of alliance with the Western European nations. He asks instead that we sign a general protocol "open to all the faithful members of the United Nations, those now directly menaced and others as well," pledging our military assistance in case of aggression against any or all of them, even in the event that a veto in the Security Council prevents action by the United Nations. In favor of this general protocol, which, it must be emphasized, he wants the Senate to adopt at its present session, and which might involve us in hard and fast military commitments with as many as fifty nations, Mr. Armstrong dismisses as unsatisfactory "the easier course of underwriting by treaty the five members of the Brussels pact."

Even though the Senate by its adoption of the Vandenberg Resolution on June 12 committed itself in advance to ratify by a bi-partisan majority a treaty of "association" with regional defense groups (called alliances before the Charter), it clearly did not believe it was agree-

ing in principle to American adherence to such a general protocol. In fact, it was generally agreed at the time that the Vandenberg Resolution, despite its designedly all-embracing terminology, was meant to pave the way for an alliance, when needed, and when it was requested by the parties of the second part, between the U. S. and the ERP nations. It appears to be unrealistic in the extreme to ask the Senate, allergic as it is to all peace-time alliances, to underwrite, at the stroke of the pen, the security of the whole non-Soviet world.

Perhaps the unrealism, and, it must be added, inconsistency of Mr. Armstrong's proposal can be ascribed to the haste with which he had to prepare and publish it in order to take advantage of the opportunity which the unexpected special session of Congress provided. It is regrettable that in his hurry he seized a scatter-gun instead of a rifle.

But the bull's-eye, a mutual-defense treaty with the Western European Union, remains as the target for early action. The arguments which Mr. Armstrong adduced in favor of such an alliance have lost none of their cogency because he failed to fit his conclusion to them. Perhaps, in view of the impossibility of obtaining a treaty at this time and considering the gravity of the present emergency, President Truman should be asked to seek Senate support for a declaration of American military support for the Western European Union. That might reassure our fearful friends, while it gave pause, at least, to the Soviets. But only a formal Senate-ratified treaty will impress the latter permanently. It should be ready for Senate action early in the next session of Congress.

## *U.S.-Argentine Relations*

Economic issues loom large in current discussions of U. S.-Argentine relations, so large in fact that some basic questions about the regime of Juan Domingo Perón are apt to go unanswered. One of these concerns the status of civil rights in the republic to the south.

While the Economic Cooperation Administration and the State Department argue the effects of Perón's tightly controlled economy upon the European Reconstruction Program, we are apt to forget that freedom of communication and of political opposition suffers progressive curtailment within Argentina. Regardless of the economics, that trend cannot but affect the role played by Argentina in international affairs. Actually, however, the restraints upon trade and upon free speech are closely linked. We cannot consider the one without the other.

Diplomatically, the "get tough" policy of Spruille Braden, back in the days when James F. Byrnes was Secretary of State, proved unsuccessful. Braden regarded

Perón as a dictator and did not hesitate to say so. Some months of work were subsequently required on the part of Ambassador George S. Messersmith before more friendly relations developed. That meant forgetting the "Blue Book" and accepting at its face value Argentina's bid for leadership in the Western Hemisphere. Currently, the task of Ambassador James M. Bruce has not been made easier by this background of rapidly shifting policy. It is further complicated by the evident antagonism to Perón's economics on the part of U. S. officials administering ERP.

All along, many of those concerned with the work of relief and postwar reconstruction felt that Miguel Miranda, Perón's right-hand man in the field of economics, was systematically exploiting world need to strengthen the Argentinian economy. Protestations by Argentine that she lost money on her wheat monopoly do not change the fact that prices considerably above market levels were asked of even very friendly nations during the food crisis. Hence, the attitude of ECA officials is understandable.

But to Argentinians, kept informed for the most part through a Peronista press and radio, the new split between economic and diplomatic policy is made to appear as a sign of U. S. inconsistency and opportunism. Perhaps a somewhat "softer" economic policy would, in the long run, produce better results. Meanwhile the emphasis in U. S. policy could be placed upon freedom of speech and communication. That would give both Argentinians and U. S. citizens a better chance to know what the other is thinking.

How free communication of ideas really is within Argentina can be gathered from events of the last six months. Progressively, Perón has placed his own appointees in the presidencies of the Argentine universities—a power granted him under the new education law. Early this year, the Peronista Senate approved Perón's proposed "workers university," which would grant degrees for acquisition of technical skills. On July 30, the lower Chamber, 71-22, also approved. So the regime can go even further in using the schools to control ideas and to exploit the "class conflict" to its own ends.

Action by the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters, meeting in Buenos Aires, further high-lighted the trend toward control. The Association expressed its belief that in Argentina the radio reflected only the ideas of the Government. It subsequently voted a resolution stating that broadcasting is in the "public interest," but not a "public service" to be controlled by the Government, as the Argentinians maintained. That the IAAB was not wholly wrong in its judgments may be inferred from the fact that members of Congress were required to submit their speeches beforehand in the campaign for the March elections. Opposition in the Congress has not forgotten that, nor the strictures placed upon papers criticizing the regime. *Prensa*, although modest in its criticisms as compared with some U. S. papers, has repeatedly run into newspaper difficulties not experienced by Peronista organs.

For North Americans the opening of a U. S. news-

paperman's dispatch, and publication of it in a Peronista paper, provides clear proof that freedom of communication is losing out in Argentina. Government disclaimers of responsibility point rather to a calculated disregard for press freedom. When such things are allowed to happen, and when cables get "lost" or delayed, when correspondents are invited to leave because they disapprove, no one should wonder that Perón succeeds in keeping the Argentinians on his side—and they are with him, as the 1946 elections showed. They also apparently back him in his economic policy, and in the interpretations he places upon U. S. actions. So, instead of trying to improve matters by employing economic pressure, it might be well to promote more exchange of ideas and to insist upon freedom of communication.

## ***Berliners under blockade***

That the Communists do not have as one of their textbooks Dale Carnegie's treatise on how to make friends and influence people is nowhere better shown these days than in Berlin. The residents of that harried and pulverized city are progressively getting their backs up against the Russians and the communism they are trying to sell to the Germans, especially in the Soviet sector.

German distaste for communism has not only been growing under the boorish Russian tactics; it has been manifesting itself under circumstances that call for no small courage. Several weeks ago, for example, the City Council of Berlin dismissed the communist chief of police, Paul Markgraf, and appointed in his stead Socialist Johannes Stumm. When ordered by the Russian authorities to reinstate Markgraf, the Acting Mayor, Frau Louise Schroeder, replied with a letter of flat refusal. Later, when the blockade of the city was clamped down, the same City Council adopted a resolution that "the blockade of Berlin is a crime against humanity." When communist members of the Council could not succeed in blocking this resolution, they walked out.

But the bravest show of contempt for Soviet tactics and threats has been given in a matter that is of passionate interest to Germans right now—food. The Russians have stated their willingness and ability to feed the whole of Berlin under the blockade. This is, as all observers on the scene agree, a mendacious promise, as there are not enough supplies in the Russian sector of the city to carry such a burden. At any rate, the promise has its attraction for a populace precariously dependent on the magnificent improvisation of the Western airlift.

And what has been the response of the Germans? Of the 2,225,000 people in the three Western zones of the city, only 19,100 have registered at the food shops in the Soviet sector to buy food there in the future. This in the face of the additional attraction that extra July rations would be issued to all so registering—a promise already discarded.

Further, in dedicating a plaque to two American flyers who were killed bringing food into the city, the Berliners again did not hesitate to flout Russian sensibilities. The two aviators are referred to as "sacrifices of the block-



ade of Berlin," and the inscription ends by saying: "Once we were enemies, but now you gave your lives for us. We are now doubly in your debt."

All these indications of a hardening German attitude toward the Communists prove that if Eastern Berlin is ever sovietized, it will not be with the free consent of the German people. The Berliners are underlining for us again the fact and the lesson that no free people have ever freely chosen communism. It will be to the disgrace of the free world if we allow Berlin to have communism clamped upon it.

## ***The mountains are in labor***

Testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, ex-Soviet agent Elizabeth T. Bentley last week made some unusual spy allegations involving a dozen men and women who held government posts during the war. Previously Miss Bentley had testified before a Federal Grand Jury in New York which, two weeks ago, indicted twelve top Communists for violations of the 1940 Smith Act. On the strength of these indictments, which followed upon thirteen months of hearings, some credence may reasonably be attached to her Washington testimony. On their own merit, however, her disclosures were hardly impressive. Even the corroboration of her story by Louis Budenz, former *Daily Worker* editor, and by Whittaker Chambers, reformed Communist and presently an editor with *Time* magazine, did not wholly clarify the issue. In view of the serious charges raised by this trio, one would expect some clear-cut evidence. Perhaps it was given off the record.

When contrasted with the substantial character of the evidence in the Canadian espionage case, the Bentley disclosures are wraithy intangibles. Is this all that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been able to unearth in three years of prolonged research? Thus, one gentleman is accused of belonging to the underground; another, of passing along information about B-29's. Could it be that the testimony ignores the fact that as late as three years ago Russia and the United States were allied and that during that time "conversations" with Russians were necessary? At any rate, the testimony thus offered would hardly be seriously considered in a court of law.

Without examining the over-all feasibility of such a Committee as the House group on Un-American Activities, it is certain that no glory has accrued to it as a result of the present ragged procedure. After days of screaming headlines alleging sensational disclosures that never seem to materialize, even the most patriotic anti-Communist is bound to weary of the process. One must feel that action along the lines of the Canadian Royal Commission would be more effective.

The real danger lies in the fact that the unsatisfactory nature of the present hearings may diminish the public's concern and awareness of the menace of communism. But while we wholeheartedly subscribe to a policy of evicting Communists from government, we prefer to do it in a rational and constitutional manner.

## ***States' Rights***

The Senate of the United States, convened in special session was treated last week to a long and painstaking exposition of the doctrine of States' Rights. The issue, it was said, was not precisely whether the poll tax should be abolished, but whether Congress, under the Constitution, has the power to abolish it. The contention of the Southern Senators is that the poll tax, segregation, fair employment practices and the whole matter of the rights of Negroes come within the ambit of those powers which, by the Tenth Amendment, are reserved to the several States.

We should have heard the lengthy argumentation with more patience if we felt that the Southern Senators were vindicating for their States the right to take effective action to secure the rights of Negroes; but we fear that they were only vindicating the right to continue to do nothing about it. The rights of the State governments, like those of any government, are predicated upon the very purposes of government itself; and among those purposes, as the Declaration of Independence reminds us, is that of securing the right of the citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

While there is a good case for States' Rights, there is no defense for the system of segregation and discrimination which hides behind the skirts of that doctrine; for it is a system that subverts the purposes for which the States have rights. Wherever "white supremacy" has A-1 priority, good government must fail; public office goes to him who can most blatantly appeal to mob passion and prejudice. There can be no intelligent discussion of public issues; that would show up the weaknesses of the system. Intelligence might argue, for instance, that if Negroes were able to get good jobs and good wages they would begin to buy good houses, furniture, refrigerators, cars and what not; and thereby give much employment to the people who build houses and make and sell all the other things. But the system requires that the Negro be kept in his place; so the builders and the manufacturers and the dealers and salesmen of the South must do without millions of potential customers. As with economics, so with sociology, with political science; their teachings must be tailored to fit the system. It is no accident that the South is losing a great many professors and graduate students to the North, where the academic air is freer.

Fortunately there is enough intelligence and Christian democracy in Dixie to ensure the end of the system; and it is significant that the present filibuster is concentrating on States' Rights and not on the race issue. "White supremacy" is going the way of the "white man's burden." All over the world the black and the brown peoples are coming to be their own masters; their ambassadors sit in the world council of nations. The old order fitted naturally enough into the age of Queen Victoria and Rudyard Kipling; but that age is gone, and the ideas that make sense in the relations of governments and people today make nonsense of white supremacy. And the Southern Senators know it.

# How to behave as a great Power

Robert A. Graham

Father Robert A. Graham, S.J., who has been AMERICA's special reporter on world organization from the time of UN's inception at San Francisco, will shortly leave for Europe, where he plans to revisit Germany and attend the sessions of the General Assembly in Paris.

It has been difficult for the American people to adjust themselves to the fact of being possessors of the greatest political influence ever wielded by one Power in history. This situation came upon them without preparation and without their seeking it. Certainly there is little in our past diplomatic history to indicate that this land of ours had either the capacity or the desire to exercise the dominant role in world politics that it exercises today. Yet it is surprising how far along the people have gone in the few years of this new epoch. Even the machinery of our National Government, never designed for the complicated business of world primacy, has risen to the occasion despite sporadic lapses traceable in part to the diffusion of responsibility in our constitutional government.

The vision and boldness of recent American foreign policy have in fact been a startling phenomenon, with few parallels in history. Beginning with some bad blunders from which we have not yet extricated ourselves, such as our deals with the Soviet Union and the incredible Morgenthau plan, we have learned a lot since 1945. An expanding totalitarian power, a starving and destitute Europe, a war-weary world seeking orderly methods of settling its disputes were clear challenges to everything America ever stood for at home or abroad. The reaction to this situation, taken in conjunction with the ample economic and industrial capacity of the country, was almost a foregone conclusion. If the methods of modern war were peculiarly suited to the technical resources of the United States, so the methods of modern diplomacy were no less in harmony with our peacetime potential. The Marshall Plan became the European Recovery Program because it was characteristically American, a projection into the international arena of a long established habit of acting at home.

But thus far our foreign policy has been formulated and administered in an atmosphere of crisis. It has yet to undergo the test of time, and there are not a few who wonder just what form our policy will take when a modicum of stability has returned to the world. These people do not fear a return to isolationism; quite the contrary. The United States intends to continue as a world Power. The question of the future is whether our strength, now looming so large in the councils of the world, will be exercised in the pursuit of exclusively selfish ends or in support of objectives generally shared by our fellow members of the international community. One who casually imagines that America can long keep up, without a struggle, what we like to believe is our present good moral position, has not reflected very seriously on the history of the great world Powers of the past.

The extent to which the American people have taken up the business of determining our foreign policy is one encouraging sign that, for the immediate future at least,

a strong, constructive U. S. foreign policy is in the making. The success of various public service groups specializing in foreign affairs is a token of this. For instance, the Brookings Institution has found its international studies program one of the most successful ventures sponsored by it since its foundation. And no doubt its publication, *Major Problems of U. S. Foreign Policy, 1948-1949*, a study guide to be ready for the opening of school in September, will prove even more widely utilized than its predecessor, which was adopted last year as a required text in over sixty colleges and universities. Judging from the observations of this writer during a two-weeks' seminar conducted by the Brookings Institution at Stanford University this summer, under the direction of Mr. Leo Pasvolosky, Cordell Hull's former special assistant, who played a leading part in the drafting of the United Nations Charter, the Brookings group has qualified itself unusually well in this field of studying foreign policy.

The persistent problem of U. S. foreign policy boils down essentially to the question of how to act as a great Power. How can this monstrous machine function to greatest profit not only in its own interests but in the interests of the larger community of which it is a member and towards which it bears special responsibilities? It goes without saying that our relations with the Soviet Union constitute a primary (though not the solitary) case in point, since any solution of ours will affect the rights and interests of our neighbors as well as our own.

President Truman has in fact identified our struggle with the Kremlin as one about which the whole world is concerned. Speaking at Berkeley on June 12 he asserted: "The cleavage that exists is not between the Soviet Union and the United States. It is between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world." The implication is that we are only acting in the name of the other countries of the world when we take a strong line in opposition to Soviet policies. And we expect them to acknowledge that and to support us accordingly. If the President's statement pictures the true state of affairs, then we are in the strongest possible moral position a great Power could assume. Yet we cannot overlook the fact that sometimes what we in America call "moral leadership" is regarded as something less than that by our friends. The reluctance of France, for example, to follow our strong lead in the Berlin crisis, should remind us that our convictions may not always coincide with the convictions of those with whom we have the closest bonds of friendship.

Small countries have a long memory, and they cannot be blamed if they are not wholly enthusiastic when great states take the liberty of acting and speaking in their name without consulting them.

These countries not unnaturally become fearful when they hear talk of a "global settlement" between the USSR

and the USA, especially when this assumes the proportions of a division of the world into spheres of influence. The terms "bi-polarity," "accommodation," "modus vivendi" or "working relationship" now coming into vogue in discussions of the Soviet problem are new words, or old words in a new context. Until they are commonly understood and until the sinister overtones are eliminated, the small and weak states will remain apprehensive as to what a "global settlement" between the two giants involves for them. China, for example, still smarts under the injustice done it at Yalta when President Roosevelt gave away what did not belong to him by agreeing to Soviet possession of the Chinese ports of Dairen and Port Arthur. In this case he had even less excuse than he had in his agreement on Poland, then half-overrun by the Red Army. If he "acquiesced" in Soviet absorption of Eastern Poland, he "assented" to Soviet possession of Chinese ports. These events are of too recent vintage to be overlooked by the countries on the Soviet-American periphery.

An accommodation with the Soviet Union can and should be sought by this country, but only on the basis of what the Soviets may properly ask and what we may properly concede. To live up to the responsibilities inherent in its power, a great state may not give away what does not belong to it or affect moral disinterestedness in what goes on beyond its "sphere."

Some commentators obscure the issue and belie President Truman's thesis by presenting U. S.-Soviet relations as something akin to the rivalry between Sears-Roebuck and Montgomery Ward. In this comparison a settlement between our countries would consist of a mutual give-and-take of objects and interests supposed to be of no moral significance. A solution on that basis would be power politics at its worst. A more acceptable formula envisions a "working relationship" with the USSR in which we would strive to win every essential point we stand for in the realm of political, economic and social ideals, but without war. Or, expressing the same thought inversely, through peaceful methods to achieve everything corresponding to our own convictions and the rights of others. There is neither "war-mongering" nor "appeasement" in this kind of an accommodation with the Soviet Union which may perhaps best be described as a diplomacy of conviction.

The problem of our moral position in relation to the Soviet Union gives us the clue to our attitude to the other countries that have been following our lead up to now. What are the conditions that will assure us of their continuing friendship and support? The Marshall Plan appears destined to go down in the annals of diplomatic history as one of the most brilliant political strokes of all time. We would be missing the most important lesson of ERP if we forgot it was based not on dictation by a strong and wealthy Power but on an appeal to the initiative and self-respect of the European countries. Months before a single penny was appropriated to ERP, immense political dividends had already been reaped through this appeal to the independence and pride of the sixteen participating countries. We must continue to consult with our

friends and strive constantly to achieve basic agreement on aims and workable compromises on methods, even if we have to yield on perhaps better ideas of our own. In the past few years we have had our own sweet will in many respects. This is not the best preparation for dealing with other countries as equals, but if we want to maintain our present favorable world prestige we cannot take our friends for granted.

The test of America's capacity as a true world leader may well come in the United Nations. There, at the moment, we enjoy an appearance of solidarity with all but the Soviet bloc. Our conduct in or out of this body can dissipate that solidarity. Already there are some countries which claim that the United States is using the United Nations as an instrument of its own policy. So long as the Soviets continue to act as they have done in the past at Lake Success, as a palpable obstructionist factor contributing nothing either negatively or positively to the achievement of the purposes of the Organization, complaints against the United States may not assume substantial proportions. But if the Soviet shadow lifts ever so little we may find that our following is none too firm. The Arab bloc, the European bloc, the Far Eastern bloc, the Commonwealth bloc, the Scandinavian bloc and, above all, the Latin American bloc can singly or in combination provide formidable parliamentary opposition to American wishes. At that juncture our country will be



sorely tempted not to refrain from bringing various behind-the-scenes pressures to bear on the opposition. Will great and powerful America bow to the freely expressed majority will of the sovereign equal members of the United Nations, or will it, repudiating all rules and pledges, ride roughshod over the opposition? The whole world is waiting to see.

One is tempted at this point to go into the fascinating subject of voting in an international organization or to try to analyze whether the veto in the Security Council is a cause or a symptom. One thing is certain, however, and this is that strategical considerations continue to hold a death grip on the thinking processes of a great Power. We continue to rest our national security on the strength of our own right arm. The recent enactment of the first peacetime draft in our history and the large budget appropriated for national defense show how powerful a factor the military element continues to be. At this stage we are indebted to Secretary of State George C. Marshall for a timely warning. Speaking to a Senate body some months ago, he said that the more we look upon foreign policy problems from a strategic point of view the more strategic they tend to become in character. An instance is the Berlin case which, as General Clay says, is a political crisis, not a military one. But it could become one by the simple process of looking at it from an exclusively strategic point of view. If our foreign policy comes to be dominated by strategic concepts, we cannot blame our



friends if their enthusiasm for us cools. They may then consider just where they will stand in the event of war between the two contesting giants and may conclude that they will be at the bottom of the heap. They have no way of telling whether they are expendable, in the eyes of American military strategists. In consequence, the belief that this country is actually anticipating a war, if widespread among our friends, would have serious repercussions and do much to undermine our moral position. We cannot ask a small or weak country to follow our leadership into armed conflict in which it will be an immediate victim. "Warmongering" is a favorite accusation hurled at us by Soviet propagandists. This charge would not be valid in a propaganda war if it were not based on the political axiom that a great Power cannot afford to appear war-minded, if it wishes to retain the free support of the peace-loving world.

If, as a result of over-emphasis of strategic considerations, our foreign policy is reduced to a process of assuring vital bases or access to raw materials, we shall have condemned ourselves to a very unworthy role as a great Power. If all we are concerned with is winning a war or at least safeguarding our national existence by military means, we must say goodbye to wider political, economic and social goals and thereby forsake what most of us believe is our responsibility to the world today. Strange to say, although the military are usually the ones most frequently criticized in this connection, we civilians are not inconspicuous in this business of riding the strategic horse to death. The military men have a point if they

object to the introduction of strategic arguments when no strategic issue is involved. They object to the practice of some Congressmen and lobbyists of exploiting the military motive in support of pet political or economic projects that cannot stand on their own feet. This not only makes the military men's task more difficult but distorts the real character of the problem that must be considered.

The career soldiers, at least those whose job is to do the thinking and the planning, appear to have preserved themselves rather well from hysteria. As a group they are better aware that a great Power must be sure of itself at all times. It is we the public, after years of indifference to our military position, who are most likely to go off the deep end. A better task should be before our minds. State Department officials complain that upon them falls almost the whole burden of interpreting America's ideals of the past and aspirations for the future. This, they contend, should be done by the people at large and not left almost exclusively, as they feel is the case today, with those government officials whose minds are necessarily preoccupied with a maze of everyday problems.

This complaint, it appears to me, is well taken and brings us back where we started, with the people themselves. The ultimate control of the destiny of America as a great Power rests with the people and, if a small group of unworthy men misdirect it, the fault will be our own. In the last analysis we are the only ones who can decide what kind of a great Power we want our country to be and how much we are willing to pay for our convictions.

## The vanishing Irish?

C. S. Mihanovich

*Dr. Clement S. Mihanovich, Director of the Department of Sociology at St. Louis University, has written extensively of the danger of under-population rather than over-population. His present article will be of special concern to Catholics.*

Ireland affords us a laboratory in which, to a certain extent, we can test the current theories of the populationists, demographers, Neo-Malthusianists and the Planned Parenthooders. These population experts, whose primary fear is overpopulation, have of late repeatedly pointed to Ireland and cried out exultantly: "Here is a country that has solved the problem of feeding too many people. One hundred years ago Ireland was, possibly, the poorest country in Europe. Today, it is one of the richest. This is all due to Ireland's population decline. They have achieved an optimum population. If you wish to survive, do likewise."

Are these experts correct, or have they deliberately misinterpreted their data? Is Ireland the demographer's dream, or is it rapidly becoming a nation of a meager handful of old men and women—a vanishing race whose glory will be contained not in the souls of living men and women but in old tomes covered with dust and tucked away in some remote corner of the bomb-proof libraries of the world?

If the Neo-Malthusianists had perused more carefully the recent census figures of Ireland their conclusion

would have been different. They would have realized that Ireland is facing the danger of becoming an extinct nation. This is a bold statement, but facts cannot be evaded.

In order to secure the best possible population statistics on Ireland, I wrote to Msgr. Cornelius Lucey of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Ireland. Monsignor Lucey sent me a report on the population of Ireland in 1946, compiled by the Irish Department of Industry and Commerce. All tables in this article have been taken from this report. Contents of some tables have been reduced and others changed into percentages (Table IV). The figures given refer to the twenty-six southern counties, popularly, if not very accurately, known as Eire.

To prove our point that Ireland is facing a grave situation—a situation under which her population is slowly ebbing away—we shall present a few statistics.

In 1840 Ireland's population was 6,548,000. By 1940 it had declined to 2,992,034. In 1946 it numbered 2,953,451. This decrease was not, as is commonly believed, due solely to emigration. Our analysis will show that low marriage rates and, comparatively speaking, consequent low birth rates contributed to this decline.

TABLE I  
PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN PROVINCIAL POPULATION

(+ = Increase. — = Decrease).		
Years	Percentage Change	
1821-31	+ 14.2	
1831-41	+ 5.4	
1841-51	— 21.7	
1851-61	— 13.9	
1861-71	— 7.9	
1871-81	— 4.5	
1881-91	— 10.4	
1891-1901	— 7.1	
1901-11	— 2.6	
1911-26*	— 5.3	
1926-36	— 0.1	
1936-46	— 0.5	

\*Fifteen-year period.

TABLE II  
RATIO OF FEMALES TO MALES

Year	Ratio of Females per 1,000 Males
1821	1,025
1831	1,042
1841	1,026
1851	1,049
1861	1,030
1871	1,034
1881	1,024
1891	1,007
1901	1,001
1911	975
1926	972
1936	952
1941	978
1943	980
1946	976

TABLE III

DEPENDENT CHILDREN (I.E., LIVING CHILDREN AND STEP-CHILDREN UNDER 16) OF MARRIED MEN, WIDOWERS AND WIDOWS, AS OF APRIL 18, 1926

MARRIED MEN			WIDOWERS			WIDOWS			TOTAL		
Number	Depen- dent Child- ren	Aver- age No. of Children	Number	Depen- dent Child- ren	Aver- age No. of Children	Number	Depen- dent Child- ren	Aver- age No. of Children	Number	Depen- dent Child- ren	Aver- age No. of Children
407,505	775,989	1.90	59,082	31,150	0.53	134,741	48,181	0.36	601,328	855,320	1.42

Table I presents a graphic picture of the uninterrupted decline of Ireland's population since 1841. Admittedly the rate of decline is decreasing, and this is due not necessarily to an increase in births but to a restriction of emigration during the depression years and to restrictions on mobility of population during World War II. It would be difficult to find another modern nation in which population decline approaches that of Ireland.

A disproportionate ratio between males and females inevitably contributes to a decline in the birth rate of a nation. (See Table II.)

Since emigration is more characteristic of males than it is of females, we may assume, on the basis of the above table, that Ireland's population decrease is not solely or even primarily a result of emigration of population, since males predominate over females in Ireland today. At the same time a high pre-war female emigration has declined almost to a standstill.

A portion of Monsignor Lucey's letter to the writer may well be used here to introduce the discussion on Table III.

Despite dwindling population, our standard of living is high because the birth rate is high enough to admit of emigration on a large scale, and these emigrants send a large part of their earnings home to their parents and families. This "invisible import," as it was called in the inter-war years, enabled the country to do more than balance its import-export trade though the visible deficit was, e.g.,

£16,500,000 in 1939. Of course, other items such as interest on investments, tourism, etc., also helped. As regards standard of living, no authoritative statistics are available, but in general the standard may be said to have gone up very considerably over the past fifty years and to compare favorably with that of any other European country, bar England, in the pre-war years.

Monsignor Lucey claims that the birth rate is high in Ireland. The limited conclusions that can be drawn from Table III do not entirely support his claims, since the average number of children, under 16 years of age, of married men, widowers and widows was 1.42 in 1926. This is not very significant, as the table does not give figures for children over 16 years of age. However, if we were to make a rough estimate of the average size of the family in Ireland, based on the figures obtainable in Table IV (next page), the average would be little over four persons per family, including the father and mother. This is not exceptionally large; it is, in fact, the bare minimum necessary to replace a population. Furthermore, any disturbance of this delicate balance, such as emigration, is immediately followed by a numerical decline in population.

On the other hand, Monsignor Lucey claims that the standard of living is comparatively good in Ireland, but admits that it is, to a great extent, the result of imports of money and goods from Irish emigrants. This fact does

not substantiate the Neo-Malthusianists' claim that a decline of Ireland's population is the cause of increased levels of living. To a certain extent Ireland is living on a dole granted by its emigré children, and by visitors.

Table IV will prove to be most revealing. One factor is readily discernible from this table—late marriages. Undoubtedly the Irish are marrying at an age when reproduction is definitely limited or is declining rapidly. This fact of late marriages will, in the final analysis, cut down the birth rate and the marriage rate, with the result that the population decline will continue.

To illustrate what we have in mind, take, for example, the age group 25-29. This age group is, biologically speaking, the most productive of all age groups. Significantly, over 82 per cent of the Irish men and 64 per cent of Irish women in this group are unmarried. Only 39 per cent of American men and 26 per cent of American women, 25-29 years of age, are unmarried.

From the table below one can easily see that the majority of Irishmen who marry do so after their thirty-fifth birthday, and the Irish women after their thirtieth birthday. The average maximum number of children they could have, according to recent genetic studies, would be about three.

By way of summary, it is interesting to note that 65 per cent of Ireland's population is single, 6 per cent widowed and 28 per cent married; and that 70 per cent of its male and 63 per cent of its female population, 15

to 44 years of age, is single. Thirty per cent of America's population of 15 to 44 years of age was single in 1930.

In conclusion we may state that due to emigration, late marriages and declining births,

1. Ireland's population is beginning to decline at a rate that may soon portend near race suicide;
2. Ireland's present economic well-being is due not to its small population but more to emigré aid;
3. The Irish birth rate is not as high as some wishful thinkers hope it is. The population is just about reproducing itself;
4. The growing disproportion between men and women will further reduce the birth rate;
5. Late marriages may halt any future planned expansion of the population;
6. There is no evidence of practice of birth control among the Irish but a strong tendency to solemn, grim understandings that postpone marriage until the last possible moment. This may have a disastrous effect on the moral fiber of the Irish.

The Catholic world should again focus its attention on that magnificent bulwark of Catholicism, Ireland, re-examine its conscience, take heed and plunge into the task of assisting the Irish economically, so that they may regain their demographic strength to the greater glory of God and the cause of Mother Church. Or else the Irish a century or so from now may be numbered among the vanished civilizations of mankind.

TABLE IV  
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION OF IRELAND, 1936

Age Group	Total	MALES			FEMALES				
		Percent of Total Male	Percent Married	Percent. Widowed	Percent Single	Percent of Total Female	Percent Married	Percent Widowed	Percent Single
0-4 Years	268,266	51.2	0	0	100	48.8	0	0	100
5-9 "	269,345	50.8	0	0	100	49.2	0	0	100
10-14 "	282,783	50.9	0	0	100	49.1	0	0	100
15-19 "	268,326	51.8	0	0	99.9	48.2	.2	0	98.7
20-24 "	254,513	52.8	3.8	0	96.3	47.2	13.6	0	86.5
25-29 "	216,785	52.3	17.4	.1	82.3	47.7	35.6	.3	64.1
30-34 "	183,284	51.2	35.8	.7	63.5	48.8	54.6	1.2	44.2
35-39 "	192,420	50.2	50.4	1.2	48.4	49.8	64.3	2.9	32.8
40-44 "	162,905	51.7	58.2	2.4	39.4	48.3	67.4	5.7	26.9
45-49 "	156,583	51.4	61.6	3.7	34.7	48.6	65.4	9.0	25.6
50-54 "	152,707	51.6	62.5	5.3	32.2	48.4	61.6	13.9	24.5
55-59 "	143,441	52.3	63.0	8.1	28.9	47.7	56.9	19.5	23.6
60-64 "	130,378	52.4	61.9	10.7	27.4	47.6	48.7	27.6	23.7
65-69 "	113,001	53.2	58.4	15.5	26.1	48.8	41.1	35.7	23.2
70-74 "	85,940	47.7	52.2	23.0	24.8	52.3	28.9	47.2	23.9
75-79 "	52,988	46.7	47.4	31.9	20.7	53.3	20.2	58.2	21.6
80-84 "	23,250	45.0	40.8	42.4	16.8	55.0	12.8	67.3	19.9
85-89 "	8,693	43.7	33.3	53.3	13.4	56.3	7.4	75.6	17.0
90-94 "	2,206	39.4	25.6	61.0	13.4	60.6	6.2	76.9	16.9
95-99 "	555	36.3	21.4	63.8	14.8	63.7	5.1	80.8	14.1
100+ "	51	37.2	0	68.5	31.5	62.8	3.1	81.3	15.6
0-14 "	820,394	50.8	0	0	100	49.2	0	0	100
15-44 "	1,278,233	51.7	23.6	0.6	75.8	48.3	35.2	14.6	63.2
45 "	869,793	51.9	59.2	12.2	28.6	48.1	48.6	27.6	23.8
Percent All Ages		51.3	27.4	3.8	68.8	48.7	29.3	8.8	61.9
Total for All Ages	2,968,420	1,520,454	418,092	58,665	1,043,697	1,447,966	424,622	126,750	896,594



# Literature & Art

## Ballet in August

Leonard McCarthy

Saturday night, after confession, the weight of all the summer began to tell on them. They wandered down the street aimlessly, scuffing shoes and kicking stones, wondering what they would do next. They were always saying there was nothing to do and, now that confession was over, they needed something else to look forward to. When they came to the stone wall just outside the square, they sat on it, languid and useless, now and then starting up to whistle or yell as a new car of some make they had never seen glided by.

But they didn't enjoy it; they had done it all before, and now, so late in the summer, they were ready for bigger things. Awaiting the voice and the vision, they went back to the wall, and remembered the days of their youth. The movement under the blue dusk of the summer night, under the blue haze of the neon, was pantomime, was ballet.

Bob said—softly, young man, softly—"When I remember school . . ."

"Yeah," Tom said. "Yeah."

"It's like a dream. It's like a long time ago," he said. "Remember when Sir caught Sandy sitting in Myles' lap, and he made him stay there all through class?"

"And if they laughed," Tom said, "or couldn't find the place, they would be kept after. . . ."

"And they never laughed."

"And they found the place." They rocked with laughter. A boy walked by, hair cut, freshly bathed, new sport jacket. They watched him for a while, but it was all right; they knew him.

"Hi, Jack," Bob said.

"Hi, Jack," Tom said.

"Hi, Mack," the boy said. "Hi, Joyce." He kept walking swiftly, staring at the bright lights of the square.

"And," Tom said, "the skit Sir would go into in the morning when Jim Collins was late."

They proceeded to do it on the stone wall, and Bob was Jim Collins, and Tom was Sir . . .

"Nice to see you this morning, Jim. Even if it's late, nice to see you."

"Nice to see you, Sir."

"The fat bus driver this morning, one presumes?"

"No, Sir, the skinny one."

"Ah! the skinny one?"

"Yes, Sir."

"But it is the fat one who doesn't like to drive fast?"

"Yes, Sir."

"And . . . the skinny one?"

"He stops for doughnuts and coffee for strength to go on. . . ."

"You win. Sit down, Jim."

"Yes, Sir. Thank you, Sir."

They rocked with laughter again. All around the dark was coming down like water softly poured. The haze over the square was heavier, was bluer.

"Why did Sir say we would tire of the summer?"

"I wonder."

"Are you tired of the summer? I'm not."

"I'm not. If there was only something to do. . . ."

"Sure. It's not summer's fault there's nothing to do. . . ."

Tom said, slowly: "He said we would say that, too."

"Who?"

"Sir, of course. Who do you think?"

"Yeah, I guess he did."

They sat there amazed that their teacher in school could be right about something other than school work.

Bob said: "Want to go over and see if he's home?"

"He's not home," Tom said. "He's not back from making retreat yet."

"Well," Bob said, "it would be something to do. . . ."

They jumped off the wall, everything all right again, because they had a place to go.

Going to take a sentimental journey, they sang as they ran, *Going to set my heart at ease*. When they came to the rectory, they had to wait a long time before the Brother answered the bell.

"Yes," he smiled.

"Is Mr. Brigham home?" Tom asked.

"No, he isn't," the Brother said.

"See, I told you," Bob said. "he's still making retreat."

"When will he be back, please?" Tom asked.

"Why," the Brother said, "he's not coming back. He's been changed to another place."

"Oh," they said together, the sun and the moon falling, exploding with all the lights of the square.

"Won't he teach school here any more?" Bob said.

"I don't think so," the Brother said, and slowly closed the door. They stood on the step staring at each other.

"Gee," Tom said. "Wouldn't you think he would say goodbye? Just as soon as we get a teacher like that, bang, we lose him. Fine apples." He was very close to crying. "Fine apples."

And still staring at him, Bob said: "What we will do now? Summer is so long. What we will do now?"

As they slowly came down the steps, they heard a train whistle. "Listen," Tom said delightedly. "It's the Diesel. It will be all lighted up in back. Come on, come on, we can see it at the bridge. . . ."

And away they went, whistling and leap-frogging, running to see the new train at the crossing.

### After reading Péguy

"To do penance and to amend my life.  
Amen."  
Yes, but when?  
Didn't I say those selfsame words last week  
And the week before?  
And what is more  
Haven't I said them every night  
Before I put out the light  
And got into bed  
And another day  
Slipped pitilessly, forever, over my head?

"To do penance  
And to amend my life. Amen."  
But when, when?  
How do I know how many days are life  
To do penance,  
To amend my life?  
Amen.  
Days are like little slippery eels  
That slither through my limp fingers  
When I'm not looking.  
Last week I said the three Hail Marys.  
Surely, that's true.

Only  
I promised to do  
Penance, and to amend my life.  
Amen.

There are so many other things to do—  
Eating and sleeping,  
Talking and reading and work  
That has to be done—  
Before you know it another day is through  
And there I am beside my bed again  
Resolving  
To do penance  
And to amend my life.  
Amen.

Some night  
I will turn the light out  
And the last little eel will escape.  
And then  
It will be too dark,  
It will be too late  
To do penance,  
To amend my life.  
Amen.

SISTER THERESE, C. S. J.

## Books

### Humanization of a god

#### THE SKY AND THE FOREST

By C. S. Forester. Little, Brown. 313p. \$2.75

Every month, Loa, the chieftain of an African tribe, went with his counselors to the river bank and summoned the moon from her watery resting-place. The moon heard and obeyed, for Loa was a god. He had been a god as long as he could remember; it was as natural as breathing, and as unquestioned. Life and death were in his hands; the fate of captives and of the tribe's women; the governance of the tribal village.

But one day, after a foreign tribe's woman had wandered into the village, given warning (to no avail) of gray-faced men looting and capturing, and been fattened and eaten for her reward, the god awoke to find the gray-faced men slaughtering and fettering his own subjects. The gray-faced men were Arab slavers and, god or not, Loa finds himself yoked at the other end of a pole with a lowly woman of his village. Months of agony, torture, famine and thirst follow as the slave caravan makes its way to the coast. But Loa's first wife and child have followed; they bring off his escape; the

little family begins to retrace its steps back home. On the way, they learn of tribes that have mastered the art of canoeing, and when at long last they find their ruined village and depose a usurper chieftain, Loa establishes a powerful little native state. This, in turn, is wiped out as the Belgian influence spreads in the Congo.

The real achievement of this tale, apart from its high dramatic quality and the brooding atmosphere of the African jungles, is the complete credibility with which Forester unrolls Loa's slowly dawning comprehension of the fact that he is not a god, but a mere man. What starts him on this self-examination is the fact that his wife and son love him as a man, see through his still lingering suspicions that he is a god, tolerate his human weaknesses and even love him the more for them.

I do not see that Forester has here any thesis in mind, though many a reader will think there is implicit some sort of commentary on the brutalizing influence of the white man's civilization. Certainly the slavers and the colonizers as depicted here were inhumanly, diabolically cruel but, after all, their civilization, with all its defects, was one in which no one could literally think himself a divinity and one in which, consequently, the individual could begin to be a true man. All the brutality Loa suffers was, in a real sense, a blessing in disguise.

I do not want to give the impression that Forester is theorizing in such high matters. This is, above all, a tense and taut story, packed with adventure and with a solid undertone of psychological development. There are tribal raids, cannibal feasts, sudden death from poisoned darts, the steaming forest hanging over all the brutality and fear, and the tortuous process of Loa's education.

In lesser hands this might have added up to sheer melodrama; from Forester's hands has come a most unusual and absorbing book.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

### When tycoons sold apples

#### THE AGE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION, 1929-1941

By Dixon Wecter. Macmillan. 362p. \$5

As Dixon Wecter makes clear in this careful analysis of the period from 1929 to December 7, 1941, almost no aspect of American life was left untouched by the effects of the "great depression." Consequently this period must be considered as one of the memorable turning points in American history; and a knowledge of the developments of these twelve years is essential to an understanding of our present and of our future destiny. *The Age of the Great Depression* furnishes that knowledge clearly and completely.

Wecter provides a broad, over-all view of the period that is rich in significant details. In explaining the catastrophic descent from "riches to rags," he marshals elaborate, if not original, evidence to reveal the fundamental faults and extreme inequalities of the economy of the 1920's. He discusses the steps that were taken by Hoover to combat the crisis, giving that unfortunate President much more credit for his endeavors and innovations than was popular at a time when apple-sellers stood on city streets, and town outskirts were occupied by "Hoovervilles."

With objectivity and detachment, the author examines the New Deal competently, although not exhaustively. He is critical, however, of its inconsistencies, even when allowing for the pressures of the emergency and the trial-and-error methods that had to be followed. He avoids discussing anything so technical as the values or shortcomings of Keynesian economics; nevertheless, the final evaluation is that Roosevelt's reforms did not succeed in solving the basic problem of unemployment. This does not mean that Wecter rejects the New Deal. Rather, he stresses repeatedly the countless benefits deriving from relief projects and the permanent program of social-welfare legislation. Wecter enjoys the advantage of writing at a time when there is less debate about the efficacy of such proposals than there is over the extent of such services and the efficiency of their supervision.

More important than his record of the political details of the reform program is Wecter's thesis that the depression induced significant effects on many more phases of contemporary life than were involved in the immediate concerns of relief and recovery. Religion, literature, entertainment and other cultural aspects are considered to show the transformations in these fields. An outstanding chapter on "Old Sections and New Regions" includes an impartial account of TVA and other programs for regional rehabilitation. Here, too, is discussed the disgrace of racial discrimination. Other important sections cover the position of the consumer in the 'thirties and the scientific developments of the decade. A major shortcoming is the emphasis on domestic developments. Only the final chapter, on the troubles preceding Pearl Harbor, covers foreign affairs to any extent, while New Deal diplomacy at the London Economic Conference and in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements receives the barest treatment.

This will long remain a convenient source of information on the depression, and will continue to be fascinating after the events cease to have first-hand familiarity. It is a bitter account of widespread hardship and distress in spite of any salutary results the author may perceive in the period. Wecter follows standards of historical accuracy throughout the volume, and makes no attempt to sell any system of political or economic reform. One cannot help, however, but be warned against the calamity of permitting such a crisis to develop in the future.

WILLIAM G. TYRRELL

### *Existentialism: treatise, story*

#### DREADFUL FREEDOM: A Critique of Existentialism

By Marjorie Grene. The University of Chicago. 150p. \$2.75

#### THE BLOOD OF OTHERS

By Simone de Beauvoir. Knopf. 292p. \$3

Mrs. Grene's analysis of various aspects of Existentialism illuminates the values and weaknesses of that much talked-of "philosophy." In general, according to Mrs. Grene, Existentialism is a reaction against both Hegelian "absolute idealism," pragmatism, positivism and Marxist economic determinism, which leave man either in a dream of "world soul" or make him a cog in an infinite machinery. This reaction has taken the form of a redefinition of man's condition, which confronts man with the gift of absolute freedom. It is this "dreadful freedom" which gives him the vertigo, the celebrated "*nausée*," on the brink of so many possibilities and responsibilities. "Man must go toward himself," says Sartre. "From outwardness to inwardness," says Kierkegaard.

In a word, the Existentialist is attempting a complete re-discovery of the individual, liberated from "serious" existence as a member of a family, community or what not, and freed from the morality or pseudo-morality that in "bad faith" keeps him always bound to the externals and annihilated by the "non-essentials" of every-day living. He must forge this self out of "such senseless circumstances, such meaningless limitations" as are given him.

This is the making of "one's essence out of mere existence." After this comes the "free resolve" by which the newly liberated individual makes of "his" facts, "his" world, "one thing or an-

other," and by which he must transcend this world "in some direction, if only in the direction of flight, madness or self-destruction." The Existentialist is proud of the price he may have to pay for liberty, proud of the bitter solitariness which it may bring. The problem remains: what to do with this freedom?

The various types of Existentialists, says Mrs. Grene, have various answers. The Danish mystic, Kierkegaard, supposed that a complete realization of "inwardness" is preparation for communion with God. The German Nazi, Heidegger, felt that the free individual must break with the "one," that is to say, the undifferentiated masses, and use them as tools to maintain himself in Existentialist grandeur. The French atheist, Jean-Paul Sartre (who says that, if there is a God, He must be "killed" so that the individual can have none but himself to lean upon) believes that the liberated Existentialist should join with others like himself to effect a world change in values, and that "absolute freedom" and "absolute responsibility" are by no means an absurd combination since they seemed to work effectively together among the Free French in the Underground. Jaspers, the German Protestant, suggests that the completely free Existentialist is now in a position to decipher in "inexhaustible reality," "the puzzling cosmic language." The French Catholic Existentialist, Gabriel Marcel, whose *Journal Métaphysique, Etre et Avoir* and the *Méditations*, deserve investigation and translation, points out that the best place for all free souls is the Church.

Mrs. Grene finds Kierkegaard something of an irresponsible; Heidegger, a traitor to philosophy because he sold out to the Nazis; Sartre, a brilliant writer but philosophically unreliable; Jaspers, a vague and often unintelligible thinker. As for Marcel, Mrs. Grene says that "for one who does not have his faith," she feels that he is a thinker who has "something about the tone of his writing that simply does not ring true," though she admits she can discover no weak point in his reasoning or his conclusion.

On the whole, Mrs. Grene affirms that Existentialism "is a courageous and honest attempt at a new morality. . . . But . . . it seems more likely that this is not the new morality we may hope for, but only a new, subtler, more penetrating statement of our old disheartenment, a new expression of an old despair."

The brilliant de Beauvoir novel emphasizes the social aspects of the atheis-



tic (Sartre) type of Existentialism: the individual has the right to shed the blood of others to defend the "supreme good which saves each man from all the others," in a word, to defend liberty. It is Sartre's argument that the free individual has the obligation to join with other free individuals to win and preserve the general freedom. In this way, Sartre somehow bridges the gap between his theories of "total freedom" and "total responsibility." He argues further that, during the war, the French underground demonstrated the feasibility of this affirmation; for individuals then freely engaged their lives and their liberty for the general liberation. It is obvious that Mademoiselle de Beauvoir has written *The Blood of Others* to prove this point.

Her principal character, Jean Blo-mart, a sensitive intellectual of the *petite bourgeoisie*, in becoming a Communist attracts to the Party a friend whom he unwittingly sends to his death at a political demonstration. This incident causes Jean to affiliate himself with anti-communist trade unions which decline to make any political use whatever of their movement. But Jean is always finding his existence impinged upon by other existences, other individuals for whom, often against his will, he is made responsible.

One such person in particular, Hélène Bertrand, a somewhat selfish and wild individualist, throws herself at him. Because of the violence of her affection, he is afraid to tell her at first that he does not love her. Eventually, however, he is forced to break with her. With the occupation of France, Hélène is stung into social action by witnessing the Nazi treatment of Jews in Paris. She places herself at the disposal of Jean, who has become a leader of the underground. Jean is moved to admiration and love for Hélène because of her acts of courageous unselfishness; but she, too, is killed in an expedition upon which he has sent her for the good of the movement. Jean, who has been developing toward the Existentialist point of view, and whose every thought and act are accompanied by an unconscionable amount of rumination, possible only to an intellectual of his extreme type, sees in her death a confirmation of his new philosophy; that for his existence, for which he is not responsible, from which he may at any moment be taken and in which he is inexorably alone, there is but one good—freedom, freedom for himself and for others, and at any cost.

One of the amazing things about the

leading Existentialist writers—Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Camus and the Catholic, Gabriel Marcel—is that they are equally at home in the field of philosophy, drama or the novel. In this piece of fiction, Mademoiselle de Beauvoir tells a skillful story and at the same time artfully insinuates her philosophical point. She gives a startlingly vivid picture of Paris during its dramatic pre-war days and its period of occupation. She delineates interestingly the agonized probings of modern French intellectuals.

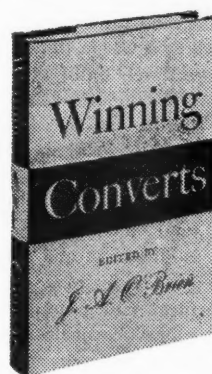
Grave spiritual disorders brought about by the war have no doubt aroused wide interest among the French in the atheistic Existentialists' re-examination of the eternal problems and in their peculiar affirmations; but it must be remembered that, counteracting this movement, there is in France a revival of religious interest perhaps unparalleled in our time. EDWIN MORGAN

#### BULLIVANT AND THE LAMBS

By I. Compton-Burnett. Knopf. 299p. \$3.50.

Ivy Compton-Burnett has been hailed as an original, and this acid sketch of English home life, above and below stairs, is certainly distinctive in manner. Its background is undated, its characters are commonplace grotesque, and events "emerge" from almost continuous talk. It is, in fact, a conversation piece disguising a basically melodramatic plot, and everyone involved speaks the same language, a stylized blend of charmless circumlocution and savage directness. By breaking down class distinctions between gentle-talk and servant-talk, and the more exploited differences between the prattle of children and the chatter of adults, Miss Compton-Burnett achieves a language which communicates without distracting. Its general eccentricity leaves the reader with nothing to notice but its sense. It is a kind of stream-of-consciousness made articulate, even glib.

Horace Lamb, whose wife's wealth enables him to become a miser, exercises such a cold tyranny over his children that Charlotte considers running off with a dependent cousin and taking her money and the little Lambs with her. The plot is discovered to Horace, and he makes a hasty show of generosity to secure his position. Kindness, however, becomes unnecessary after two half-hearted attempts on his life, and he reverts to type in an aura of



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self-righteousness. His deathbed repentance is spoiled by the fact that he does not die, and the Lamb household is left much as it was in the beginning. On the lower level, Bullivant, the perfect butler who knows his master and his place and is satisfied with both, dominates his inferiors. Speaking for themselves at various times are the rude mother and lately romantic sister of the children's tutor, a shopkeeper whose secret sin is illiteracy, and a pair of workhouse wards learning the mysteries of genteel, underpaid service.

The anti-climactic conclusion, along with the almost Victorian tone maintained throughout, indicates the author's sly rejection of the sensational possibilities of the plot material in favor of character analysis. Miss Compton-Burnett is detached and ironic, and although all her characters are not unlovely, they do not add up to a warm endorsement of the human race. Horace is a mild monster whose children are given to speculation about the advantages of his sudden demise; Charlotte is ineffectual; Mortimer is a spiritual cousin to Dickens' Harold Skimpole; and the lofty Bullivant is just a touch sadistic.

The total effect of the novel is somewhat like looking through a stuffy family-group picture and finding a confusion of human frailties beneath. It is an unusual and interesting work which will surprise readers who have forgotten that a modern novel need not be shocking to be realistically perceptive. **THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS**

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## The Word

### PILLARS OF OUR FAITH

23. *For our salvation.* I cannot help thinking (says the Man in the Street) that Catholic theology went too far in its downright condemnation of human nature. Was it necessary, in order to extol God's omnipotence, to debase human dignity?

I don't know (answers the Theologian) how you read theology, but I can emphatically deny that our Catholic doctrine of man's value is couched in terms of condemnation.

How can you deny that? And what about Saint Augustine and his Carthaginian wrath against poor Pelagius? His fierce denunciation of man's utter impotence? His *vitium pro natura inolevit*—"Vice has become second nature"? And his conception of grace pulling the strings of the puppet, man's will? Better disavow such pessimism.

I won't disavow any of the articles of our faith. The last word of Catholic doctrine is not the condemnation of man but his redemption; and old Pelagius was not only St. Augustine's foe; if left to work out his system, he would have done away with the essentials of redemption. Besides, Pelagius is not dead. He has changed his name, but is more ubiquitous than ever, trying to shift the center of Christian life from God to man.

Could you explain?

Of course, it is an old story, resting not on the authority of St. Augustine—whatever be its value—but on the authority of the Church, and therefore on the word of God. Look keenly and listen patiently. At first sight it would seem that under the full impact of our Catholic dogmas man's value is reduced to bits; at least our dogmas leave very little room for self-complacency. We may examine them. Man is unable, without the gift of grace, to stand morally on his feet; unable to avoid sin, even mortal sin; unable by himself to merit any grace; unable to steer his course to heaven; unable even to

start it; unable to acquire faith or hope, not to speak of charity. Life without grace is void, and grace is and remains beyond our reach. Man, therefore, appears in the light of this peremptory doctrine as a cripple, a kind of Humpty-Dumpty, after the "fall." Of course, to the old Stoics, this picture of man seemed perfectly extravagant. They knew nothing of an original sin; and even in our times Protestant divines, in spite of Luther and Calvin, found this general indictment of mankind a little unpalatable and tried to water it down. The result was not slow to appear: Christian doctrine became a mere secular philosophy about man and his powers. Instead of tampering with dogmas, let us keep them all together.

The self-same Catholic faith, which seemed so dark when speaking of human nature, is full of light when it unfolds the mysteries of grace. Man needs grace, but grace is offered to all and sundry: sinners, pagans receive graces, without deserving them; the first movement toward faith comes from grace; with grace we can merit more grace; we are never left alone; and even when we think of repentance this thought is an answer to the mysterious call of grace. Therefore, instead of being weak and poor, we are strong and rich. Yes, but not through our own strength. We borrow from someone else what we need; we possess without ownership. Have you ever seen this little plant we call ivy? Ask a botanist what is the average height of ivy. He will shrug his shoulders and answer that it has none, being a creeper. Now ask him what height ivy can reach, and the same botanist will answer that, *being a creeper*, it can reach any height and climb up to the top of an oak. Very paradoxical, this ivy! Unable to stand erect, but devoured with a strong desire for unlimited ascension. It reconciles its congenital weakness and its ambition through a very simple device: it borrows the strength of its props. It clings to the oak or to the wall, and up it goes. At every stage it is true to its nature; it never acquires the habit of going up alone and, at the moment it abandons its supports, it falls to the ground. But so long as it clings to its support, it partakes of the strength of its prop. That is exactly what Catholic doctrine teaches about man: a human creeper unable by himself to reach any decent level, but quite able through the gift of grace to reach to the height of heaven. **PIERRE CHARLES, S.J.**



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## Theatre

**FORDHAM'S FORD.** If I had not carelessly mislaid my prophet's mantle, Merlin's wand, crystal ball and other paraphernalia required for prognosticating future events with a fair degree of accuracy, I would predict that Frank Ford is going places as a dramatist. Since I happen to be the seventh son of a seventh son, birthed in the dark of the moon with a caul on my left eye, I could make the prediction on the strength of my natural-born clairvoyance, with small risk of being more than eighty per cent wrong. But this is the modern world, the age of science, and it is better to avoid peering into the future without the aid of precision instruments. Nevertheless, depending solely on my occult powers, without referring to my graphs and rabbit's foot, I assert without fear of embarrassing contradiction that Ford is a playwright of promise.

I encountered my second Ford play, probably one of his first, on the hottest night of a hot July. Since the play was *Lucifer at Large*, the torrid weather provided a proper atmosphere for the action. It happened that several mishaps caused me to arrive at Fordham University's Keating Little Theatre late, near the end of the first scene. For a few minutes I sat fanning myself with the playbill in a vain attempt to retard the process of melting down to my basic liquids. Then the dialog began to get me, and I forgot about the heat.

*Lucifer at Large* is the story of three souls tempted from the path toward salvation by the Prince of Sin. The first, the easiest conquest, accepts Lucifer's invitation to enjoy the luxuries of the flesh without asking the price. Lucifer's second victim is a soul that craves power. The third soul loves pleasure and desires power, but is cautious enough to look at the price tag. *Lucifer at Large*, a modern morality play, was presented as a ballet with dialog. As a ballet, it is rather tame compared with *Fall River Legend*. As a play, it challenges the gamut of amoral values in the modern world.

I have a hunch that the great literature of the latter half of the twentieth century—the outstanding novels and significant plays—will be concerned with moral values. Ford came out of Fordham magnificently equipped for writing moral drama. He has a few things to learn, which the Blackfriars

could teach him—for instance, how to write drama that is pious without being pietistic. If he had written *Lucifer at Large* in secular terminology, without making it secular in spirit, it would appeal to a larger audience. It might even attract the thousands who have made *Born Yesterday* a hit.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## Films

**A DATE WITH JUDY** is producer Joe Pasternak's latest effort to bring off a comparatively simple story of teen-age romance and family relationships against an overpowering background of opulent settings, musical-comedy interludes and uninhibited Technicolor. The music is sprightly and delivered with considerable style by songstress-heroine Jane Powell; by Carmen Miranda and Xavier Cugat, who are laboriously worked into the plot; and the incidental comedy about frenetic adolescents and their intelligently tolerant parents is both lifelike and amusing. Taken by itself, the picture would seem to be wholesome, light entertainment for the family, with a tendency towards ingenuous characterizations of the strictly black-or-white variety which will appeal more to juveniles than their elders. However, as a particularly persuasive link in a chain of films which cannot help but influence adolescent behavior, its overemphasis on the importance of romance and new clothes among teen-agers and its use, though tasteful in this case, of the situation in which a young daughter suspects her father of infidelity, are a far from constructive influence. (MGM)

**BEYOND GLORY.** The temptation simply to say that "*Beyond Glory* is beyond description" and proceed to something else is almost insuperable. The plot unfolds, in complicated flashback, from a congressional hearing into alleged undemocratic practices at West Point. This issue is completely lost in the shuffle until the finale finds General Eisenhower (in person) telling the graduating class that their training has "made them one with the men they command," which is no answer to a serious question once it is raised. In the intervening time the picture gives a fulsome account of the past misfortunes and present neuroses of the individual under the committee's fire, a

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wartime OCS graduate who is now the Captain of the Corps of Cadets (Alan Ladd). It seems that Mr. Ladd's continuing war jitters and maladjustment result from believing that cowardice on his part caused the death of his best friend in battle. Fortuitously several witnesses turn up who testify that it was unconsciousness from shell concussion and not fear that immobilized him during the crucial ten minutes in Tunisia and, presto, he is cured and vindicated. The entire sequence of events is so "hammy" and cliché-ridden, the hero so lacking in the qualities of character and leadership to be ex-

pected of a cadet captain, and the weighty problem of a combat veteran's readjustment reduced to such absurdity that one is tempted to regard the script (by three immensely talented writers who shall remain nameless) as a subtle but ill-advised practical joke, the humor of which eluded the producers, director John Farrow and the authorities of West Point who cooperated wholeheartedly in the film's making. (Paramount)

**THE WALLS OF JERICHO.** The travails of Alan Ladd in the postwar world as described above are hardly

greater quantitatively than those here visited on Cornel Wilde as a small-town Kansas politician of a generation ago. At the picture's start our hero—who acts throughout more like an inoffensive college student than an aspirant to the United States Senate—is already saddled with a dipsomaniac wife, a shiftless mother-in-law and a never-failing capacity for making trouble by trying to do good. Along the way he makes an implacable enemy by rejecting the advances of the beautiful but predatory wife (Linda Darnell) of his best friend (Kirk Douglas), belatedly realizes his love for a great-souled lady lawyer (Anne Baxter) and encounters first-hand many of the evils which lurk behind the virtuous facades of all fictional small towns. Finally a young girl, fleeing town on discovering that she is illegitimate, kills a big bruiser in self-defense, and her trial serves to unite all the foregoing melodramatic ripples into a tidal wave which obliterates whatever credibility and sense of moral values the picture still had. (20th Century-Fox)

MOIRA WALSH

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## Parade

THE NEWSPAPERS, LIKE SO many seismographs, recorded the shocks of the moral earthquake that is making rubble of American family life. . . . Throughout the week, flying fragments of divorce-smashed homes darkened the social air. . . . The most trivial pretext for the break-up of a family seemed good enough. . . . A Miami husband charged that his wife made him do all the baby-sitting. . . . A Hollywood wife testified her husband complained about the spending money she gave him. . . . A Pennsylvania minister declared his wife thumbed her nose at him during his sermons. . . . The solemn obligations of the married state rested lightly on twentieth-century shoulders. . . . A Chicago mother of two disclosed that her husband went out on Christmas Eve, 1944 to buy lights for the tree, and never came back. . . . In Detroit, a mother and daughter testified for each other and won divorces. . . . The mother stated her husband went out one day in 1930 to buy a farm and kept on going. The daughter declared her spouse went out one evening in 1946 to buy cigarettes and kept on going. . . . Some husbands just went out. . . . A Baltimore, Md.,

# Correspondence

mother of four received this frank note from her beloved: "I am tired of you and the children. I am going away and staying away. Your loving husband." . . . That the proper time to weigh the obligations of the married state is before, not after, the wedding has been forgotten. . . . Following the marriage ceremony, a Eugene, Ore., bride announced she had changed her mind. The youthful bridegroom filed suit for divorce—110 minutes after the wedding. . . . In Los Angeles, the author of the song *Pistol Packin' Mama* was sued, his wife testifying that when she needed money for a major operation, he told her: "I can get a new wife cheaper than I can pay for your operation, and I intend to look for one." . . . Lack of conjugal affection was reported. . . . In San Diego, two pistol-packing spouses laid their guns down in a police station, said they wanted to check them there while they were negotiating a divorce. . . . To moderns the inestimable worth of family life seemed as unimportant as Manhattan seemed to the Indians who sold it for a trifle to the Dutch. . . . It may be flippancy—or it may be the incredible ignorance of an irreligious generation. . . . A New Jersey girl petitioned for annulment on the grounds that she had married just for a joke. . . . A California divorcee traded to her former husband her child, due in October, for a \$10,250 house and lot. . . . In Milwaukee, a judge approved a divorce settlement whereby the ex-wife will get a new automobile every year.

Wider and wider gape the cracks in the foundations of the family institution; louder and louder booms the thunder of crashing homes. . . . With regard to divorce, two points emerge. . . . First, a nation can stand just so much of this vice. . . . When the saturation point is reached, the nation is receiving the kiss of death. . . . Second, human nature being what it is, there is only one cure, to wit, total abstinence from divorce. JOHN A. TOOMEY

WILLIAM G. TYRREL is instructor in a survey course in American history, economic problems and government at Columbia University. He was formerly instructor of modern European history at St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn.

EDWIN MORGAN is author of *Flower of Evil*, the life of Charles Baudelaire.

## Reply to Mr. Knowles

EDITOR: In the July 31, 1948 issue of AMERICA, there appeared a letter, sent to you by a Mr. Arthur J. Knowles of Brooklyn, New York, under the heading of "Catholic films and radio."

I am indeed surprised that a responsible magazine like AMERICA would publish a letter without first checking on its accuracy, particularly when the reputation of a business firm is involved. If you had called the Legion of Decency headquarters in New York, they would have told you that from the very inception of the Catholic Department of Films Incorporated we have been collaborating very closely with the Legion. Their ratings are the ones we are guided by in booking films for Catholic audiences, and indeed only A-1 and A-2 pictures are shipped to these accounts by all of our exchanges. Whenever we have a request from a Catholic account for our catalog (be it our "School List" or our general catalog), we send along with our catalog two pamphlets which list the titles in our library rated Class A by the Legion of Decency, and we advise the prospective customer that any picture not included in that list is not for Catholic audiences. And this use of quality films is not limited to our Catholic accounts. Needless to say, our firm has always refused to handle any picture which has been rated Class C by the Legion. This is the policy not only of the Catholic Department but of the firm as a whole.

In regard to the particular titles mentioned in Mr. Knowles' letter, some of them are not in our library at present. To be specific, we do not have *Gamblers' Choice*, *Honeymoon in Bali*, *Paris Honeymoon* or *Queen of the Mob*. Curiously enough, *In Old Chicago*, which Mr. Knowles describes as "so full of bedroom incidents that one nun who accepted the recommendation and used it had to stop it halfway," has been rated A-1 by the Legion of Decency, which means that it is suitable for both adults and children. *The Road to Morocco* and *The Night Before the Divorce* are rated B by the Legion of Decency, and are not included in our list of pictures for Catholic audiences. *Rings on Her Fingers*, *Free, Blonde and 21*, and *Sailor's Lady* are rated

A-2 by the Legion of Decency. Moreover, with the exception of *In Old Chicago*, none of the pictures mentioned in the letter are included in our "School List." *Saps at Sea*, for instance, is in the so-called "Supplementary List" for entertainment purposes only.

To carry on the program that I have been advocating for years through lectures at teachers' institutes, summer schools, etc., we recommend the use of only pictures on our "School List," such as *Song of Bernadette*, *Keys of the Kingdom*, *Wilson*, *Buffalo Bill*, *Anna and the King of Siam*, etc., etc. It is difficult to expound in one letter the whole program of our Catholic Department. However, I can refer you to an article of mine, published in the *Catholic Mind* and other Catholic publications here and abroad.

I hope that in all fairness a statement will be published by your magazine, bringing to the attention of your readers the true facts.

ANATOLE G. LINDSAY  
Director, Catholic Dept. of  
Visual Education, of  
Films, Inc.

New York, N. Y.

## Correction

EDITOR: In discussing the revolt against the communist-dominated Greater New York Industrial Council in AMERICA for July 24, I wrote that the next move "would seem to belong to John Brophy, National Director of CIO Councils." As a matter of fact, the next move belongs to Philip Murray, CIO President, as is clear from Rule 23 of the CIO rules governing industrial councils. The pertinent part of this rule reads as follows:

In the event the president of the CIO shall have reason to believe that any council or officer is failing to comply with any provision of the constitution or its rules, he may initiate proceedings upon the alleged violations, upon due notice and hearing before any duly designated member or members of the executive board.

Thus the initiative for starting disciplinary actions against a CIO council lies with the president of the CIO and not with the national director of CIO councils.

BENJAMIN L. MASSE  
New York, N. Y.

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